Chapter 11 Internationalism and Nationalism

Figure 11-1 Artillery shells (top right) are just some of the weapons on display at the Defence Systems and Equipment International Exhibition and Conference, which takes place every two years in London, England. The DSEi exhibition, one of the world's biggest arms fairs, also draws protests like the one shown in the photograph. The poster at the bottom was produced by Disarm DSEi, a group dedicated to ending the arms trade.

CHAPTER ISSUE

To what extent do efforts to promote internationalism through world organizations affect nationalism?

THE INTERNATIONAL ARMS TRADE is big business. Though estimates vary, some experts say that countries around the world spend more than $200 billion a year on weapons. At the biannual Defence Systems and Equipment International Exhibition and Conference in London, England, more than 1200 manufacturers display their wares — for both private and government buyers.

Many groups and governments say that arms fairs serve an important purpose. Arms fairs provide an opportunity to assess and buy technologically advanced weapons that help promote safety and security and protect a country's sovereignty. But critics argue that these fairs promote war and threaten everyone's security by making weapons easily available.

Examine the images on the previous page, then respond to the following questions:

- Can buying and manufacturing weapons be a purely defensive strategy?
- What benefits and risks might states face when buying and selling weapons on the international market?
- How can the sale of weapons promote — and threaten — world peace?
- Should the arms trade be regulated? If so, who should be responsible for regulating it? If not, why not?
- Why might organizers have chosen to highlight the word "defence" in the fair's name? Is this name accurate? Explain your response.

KEY TERMS

voluntary balkanization

responsibility to protect

common human heritage

trickle-down effect

LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter, you will respond to the following questions as you explore the extent to which efforts to promote internationalism through world organizations affect nationalism:

- How have changing world conditions promoted the need for internationalism?
- How have the United Nations' changing international responses affected nationalism?
- How do the responses of various international organizations affect nationalism?

My Journal on Nationalism

Look again at the images on the previous page. Think about images you could use to express your current ideas about nationalism and internationalism. Date your ideas and keep them in your journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file so that you can return to them as you progress through this course.

How have changing world conditions promoted the need for internationalism?

As the world becomes more and more globalized, many challenges can no longer be confined within the borders of a single country. In November 2002, for example, a farmer in China died of a disease that was not identified at the time. Three months later, an American travelling to Singapore from China died of the same illness, and several people who treated him also became sick. The outbreak spread from there, and by the time the disease — eventually dubbed severe acute respiratory syndrome, or SARS — was contained in July 2003, the illness had been reported in 26 countries, including Canada.

The challenges presented by diseases such as SARS, as well as threats such as terrorism and climate change, demand that countries co-operate to find multilateral solutions. In addition, the ease and speed of travel between countries, as well as rapid advances in communication technology, also promote internationalism. Citizens around the world can now communicate with one another independently; they no longer need to rely on their government to speak for them. As a result, some observers, such as Kenichi Ohmae, believe that the borders between countries are becoming meaningless.

Countries that support internationalism accept collective responsibility for some of the world's problems and work together to solve them. As the world globalizes, many people believe that international approaches to meeting challenges are more important than ever.

In a world of near instant communications, the nation-state is irrelevant. One of the outward symbols of its existence is the national border, staffed by uniformed officials checking papers and manning barricades. But what use are such border controls in the world of the Internet, for example?

— Kenichi Ohmae, author and business strategist, in The Globalist, *2005*

If nation-states are irrelevant and unworkable, as some observers suggest, does this mean that even talking about nation and national identity is also irrelevant?

Global Communication

In the 1960s, Canadian media philosopher Marshall McLuhan was one of the first to understand the information revolution and to predict the impact of electronic information systems on human society, and especially on the nation-state. In his famous 1967 book, *The Medium Is the Massage*, McLuhan wrote: "Electric circuitry has overthrown the regime of 'time' and 'space' and pours upon us constantly and continuously the concerns of all other men. It has reconstituted dialogue on a global scale. Its message is Total Change, ending psychic, social, economic, and political parochialism. The old civic, state, and national groupings have become unworkable."

Figure 11-2 An Indian fisher uses a cellphone to call the market to see which merchant will give him the best price for his catch. Cellphones are just one of the devices that are changing the way the world does business. Do technological advances like the cellphone support or threaten traditional ways of life such as this fisher's?

The Global Village

The creation of the Internet — as well as the development of satellite and fibre optic communications, cellphones, and other communication innovations — seems to support McLuhan's predictions about the effects of the information revolution. It is now possible for people to form groups independent of — and parallel to — the state. Some people even argue that these groups have become entirely new "nations." As McLuhan predicted, technology has ended the psychological, social, political, and economic isolation of many parts of the world.

In his writing, McLuhan described how electronic mass media collapse space and time, the barriers that had stood in the way of human communication. The disappearance of these barriers has meant that people can now relate to one another on a global scale. They live in what McLuhan called a "global village." How might people's ability to communicate directly with one another promote internationalism?

Has the Internet truly created a global village or merely a series of small, isolated online communities?

FYI

Many of the states in the mountainous Balkan Peninsula were once part of the Ottoman Empire. The peninsula takes its name from *balkans*, a Turkish word for mountains. After World War I, these states were united into the country of Yugoslavia. But the rugged landscape made communication difficult and kept peoples isolated. As a result, they were often hostile to one another — and the term "balkanize" entered English.

Voluntary Balkanization

McLuhan's idea of the world as a global village — a single collective of citizens with common interests — is not accepted by everyone. Marshall Van Alstyne, a professor of information economics at Boston University, and Erik Brynjolfsson, a management professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, have studied the social effects of the Internet. Their research has shown that Internet users seek out connections with like-minded individuals whose values are similar to their own. As a result, these people become less likely to trust important decisions to those whose values differ from their own.

Van Alstyne and Brynjolfsson call this phenomenon **voluntary balkanization**. "Balkanization" refers to the separation of people into isolated and hostile groups. Van Alstyne and Brynjolfsson are concerned that the resulting loss of shared experiences and values may harm the structure of democratic societies.

In their 2004 book, *Electronic Communities: Global Village or Cyberbalkans?*, they wrote:

> Because the Internet makes it easier to find like-minded individuals, it can facilitate and strengthen fringe communities that have a common ideology but are dispersed geographically. Thus, particle physicists, oenophiles [wine enthusiasts], Star Trek fans, and members of militia groups have used the Internet to find each other, swap information and stoke each others' passions. In many cases, their heated dialogues might never have reached critical mass as long as geographic separation diluted them to a few parts per million. Once like-minded individuals locate each other, their subsequent interactions can further polarize their views or even ignite calls-to-action.

Think about the way you communicate through the Internet. Does this communication open people's minds by bringing individuals into contact with a diverse group, or does it close people's minds because they have attached themselves to like-minded communities?

Figure 11-3 Some parents and educators worry that communicating electronically isolates young people at a time when socializing is important for the development of their identity. Do you think this concern is valid?

Effects of Technology on Citizenship and Democracy

We've expanded to the point where all the world will be connected — we're going to have to get on with each other.

— Tim Berners-Lee, developer of the World Wide Web, 2007

Darin Barney, a professor of communication studies at McGill University, has written extensively about the relationship between technology and citizenship. Barney does not believe that whether people have access to digital technology is the real issue; rather, he says that the issue is whether technology can empower people and contribute to their autonomy, or independence.

In an online interview, Barney told the editor of a blog:

> Even after we all have a broadband connection and we are all Internet and computer literate, the real digital divide will remain: the divide between those for whom digital technology serves as an instrument of power (probably a small minority), and those for whom it serves as an instrument of powerlessness (probably a majority).

> Contemporary technological discourse traps us with the assumption that access, or even access with skill, necessarily constitutes empowerment and liberation. I think this is a dubious proposition given the history of modern technological systems, almost all of which have served to reinforce, rather than to democratize, existing distributions of political and economic power . . . Equal access to a technology of disempowerment, or a technology configured to disempower, can undermine democracy instead of contributing to it.

Think about Barney's words. How might digital technology serve as an instrument of power? How might it serve to disempower people?

Figure 11-4 A Japanese man holds a portable device with an earphone plug and a screen as he participates in testing the Tokyo Ubiquitous Technology Project in March 2007. The $8.7-million (U.S.) project, which is supported by the Japanese government, involves sending messages to shoppers from 1200 computer chips lodged in lampposts, subway station ceilings, and sidewalks. The messages contain maps, store guides, and quick history lessons. How might this use of technology reinforce national interest rather than internationalism?

Reflect and Respond

Some people believe that globalization has made it impossible to retreat from internationalism.

Write a four- to six-paragraph blog response to this view. State your position clearly and provide examples to support it. Conclude with a statement that sets out your prediction for the future of internationalism.

How have the United Nations' changing international responses affected nationalism?

CheckBack

You read about the conflicts in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia in Chapters 7 and 10.

The debate over the effectiveness of peacekeeping and peacemaking shows that not everyone agrees that internationalism is the key to bringing peace to the world. Aggressive states, failed states, and revolutionary movements have challenged the international order and the goals of the United Nations.

In 2003, the UN was nearly 50 years old and the high-profile failure of peacekeeping missions such as those in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, as well as changing world conditions, had led some people to question the effectiveness of the organization. As a result, the UN decided to re-examine its goals. Kofi Annan, who was secretary-general at the time, said that the organization needed to adapt to changes in the world.

> We have come to a fork in the road. This may be a moment no less decisive than 1945 itself, when the United Nations was founded.
>
> At that time, a group of far-sighted leaders, led and inspired by [United States] President Franklin D. Roosevelt, were determined to make the second half of the 20th century different from the first half. They saw that the human race had only one world to live in, and that unless it managed its affairs prudently, all human beings may perish.
>
> So they drew up rules to govern international behaviour, and founded a network of institutions, with the United Nations at its centre, in which the peoples of the world could work together for the common good.
>
> Now we must decide whether it is possible to continue on the basis agreed then, or whether radical changes are needed.

FYI

The UN report *A More Secure World* stated that intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign states should occur only when

- there is a defined threat
- the purpose of intervention is clear
- the intervention is the Security Council's last resort
- only appropriate means are used
- the reasons for the intervention are examined and reported to the Security Council

A panel of diplomats and international leaders examined the future of the UN, and in 2004, they produced a report titled *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*. The report recommended that the UN relax its longstanding tradition of staying out of internal conflicts — conflicts that occur within countries. It said that the UN has a **responsibility to protect** people when states violate or fail to uphold the rights and welfare of their own citizens. This intervention could take the form of humanitarian operations, monitoring missions, diplomacy, or — as a last resort — military force.

This recommendation was controversial. Some viewed it as a direct challenge to sovereignty and nationalism. Why might some states regard UN intervention in a country's internal affairs as interference?

Figure 11-5 The flag of the United Nations was still flying after a car bomb blast near UN offices in Algiers, the capital of Algeria, on December 11, 2007. Another blast damaged an Algerian government building. A group linked to al-Qaeda claimed responsibility for the bombings and said that the attacks were aimed at "the Crusaders and their agents, the slaves of America and the sons of France." Do incidents like this suggest that internationalism no longer works?

Iran's Conflict with the UN

The UN's new direction was challenged almost immediately by a situation that had been simmering for some time.

Although a number of counties, such as the United States, Russia, Britain, France, China, India, and Pakistan, have already developed nuclear weapons, the UN is trying to limit the spread of these weapons because of the threat they pose to world peace.

Iran had signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which was designed to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons while allowing countries to develop nuclear facilities for peaceful purposes, such as generating electrical power. The International Atomic Energy Agency, an arm of the United Nations, monitors whether countries are observing the terms of the treaty.

In 2003, the IAEA reported that for 18 years, Iran had been secretly enriching uranium. Enriched uranium can be used both to generate nuclear power and to build nuclear weapons.

The secrecy of the Iranian program aroused the suspicions of Western members of the IAEA, which called on the country to stop enriching uranium. The Iranian government refused, maintaining that it is merely pursuing its national interest by developing the ability to generate nuclear power. Iranian officials also said that Iran should be free to control this process without outside interference.

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, the country's president, has called for the destruction of Israel, denied that the Holocaust happened, and threatened the United States. In light of Ahmadinejad's statements, Iran's assurances have failed to convince many in the world community. Many observers believe that the goal of the Iranian program is to develop nuclear weapons for use against Israel and other countries, including the United States.

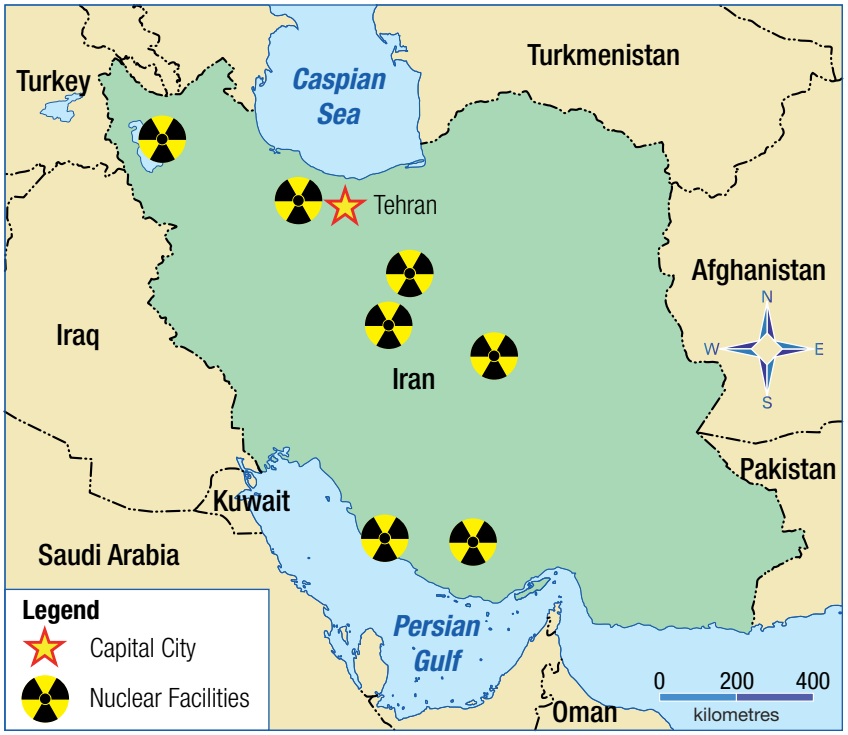
The Iranian nation will not succumb to bullying, invasion and the violation of its rights.

— Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, president of Iran, October 2007

The UN Security Council called on Iran to stop its nuclear program — and imposed sanctions when the Iranian government refused. Some observers believe that this disagreement has the potential to escalate rapidly. For this reason, they believe that it poses the most pressing threat to world peace.

Figure 11-6 shows the location of nuclear facilities in Iran. If the United States, Russia, Britain, France, China, India, Pakistan, North Korea, and possibly Israel already have nuclear weapons, is it fair to stop Iran from developing them? If Iran is planning to develop nuclear weapons, is this a situation in which the UN should intervene to exercise its responsibility to protect? Explain your response.

Figure 11-6 Nuclear Facilities in Iran



SPINBUSTER

Analyzing Spin in Official Documents

In 2003, Zahra Kazemi, an Iranian-Canadian journalist, was arrested for taking photographs during a protest outside a prison in Tehran, Iran's capital. Kazemi died while in custody. The Iranian government claimed at first that she had suffered a stroke. When Canadian officials protested, it was eventually determined that she had been tortured and murdered.

An Iranian official was charged with the murder, but he was acquitted — and the Iranian court declared Kazemi's death an accident. Unsatisfied with this outcome, Canada recalled its ambassador to Iran and used the United Nations Human Rights Council as a platform for denouncing Iran's human rights record.

In response, Iran published a 70-page document challenging Canada's record on protecting human rights. This booklet was distributed to members of the UN body. Some of Iran's claims are set out in Figure 11-7.

Steps to Analyzing Spin in Official Documents

Step 1: Analyze the claims

With a partner, examine the claims that appear in Figure 11-7. Discuss

- whether the claim was biased
- whether there was any truth to the claim
- the factors that shaped your judgment about the bias and truth of the claims

As you do this, consider what — if anything — the Iranian government had to gain by publishing these claims.

Step 2: Assess the validity of the claims

With your partner, create a T-chart like the one shown. In the first column, record each of Iran's claims. In the second column, record your assessment of the validity of the claim and note the criteria you used to support your judgment. You may need to conduct some additonal research.

Iran's Claims about Canada	Assessment of the Evidence and Validity of the Claims (1 = completely inaccurate; 5 = completely accurate)

Figure 11-7 Some of Iran's Claims about Canada

Claims about Canada

- Canada violates the rights of women and does not promote or protect women's rights.
- Canada's violation of the rights of Aboriginal people is a serious cause for concern.
- Canadian police routinely strip-search and beat prisoners.

Step 3: Be a spinbuster — look for alternative points of view and information

When news of Iran's claims was broadcast, Ezat Mossallanejad, an Iranian-born analyst and researcher at the Canadian Centre for Victims of Torture, said that his centre has gathered evidence of widespread human rights abuses in Iran: "There is maltreatment of children, rape of women and torture. Iran is ruled by a tyrannical government, and accountable to no one." But he also added: "Canada is not blameless, and we have recorded cases of maltreatment. But the situations are not comparable."

With your partner, discuss whether the Iranian claims should be dismissed as propaganda or treated as a wakeup call by Canadians who have grown smug about Canada's human rights record. Or would you take a completely different position?

Summing Up

As you progress through this course, you can use your spinbusting skill to analyze and assess the validity of statements made in various documents.

Protecting the Common Human Heritage

In 1945, the UN created the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. UNESCO promotes international co-operation in the fields of education, science, culture, and communication and works to create respect for the shared values and dignity of every civilization and culture. Part of its mandate involves preserving the **common human heritage**, such as world heritage sites, traditional skills and knowledge, and the arts.

UNESCO has established a list of human cultural features that are important to all people, regardless of where they live. UNESCO believes that peace will be promoted if people know about and help preserve this common human heritage. In addition, acknowledging a common human heritage may help promote responsible global citizenship.

UNESCO has identified many natural and human-made sites around the world as world heritage sites. The pyramids of Egypt are an example. These sites, regardless of where they are located, are considered important to all the peoples of the world. UNESCO has also identified masterpieces of humanity's oral and intangible cultural heritage, such as the Azerbaijani mugham, a traditional musical form.

But deciding exactly what should be classified as part of the common human heritage can present challenges. Whales, for example, are an important part of the natural heritage of this world. So, too, are elephants, walruses, and many other animals. Some people reason that if these animals were respected as part of the common heritage of humans, more might be done to protect the environment that sustains them.

Examine the elements of the common human heritage in Figure 11-9 and think about your own community. What aspects of the common human heritage exist within your community? Consider both tangible and intangible aspects, as well as natural and human-made aspects.

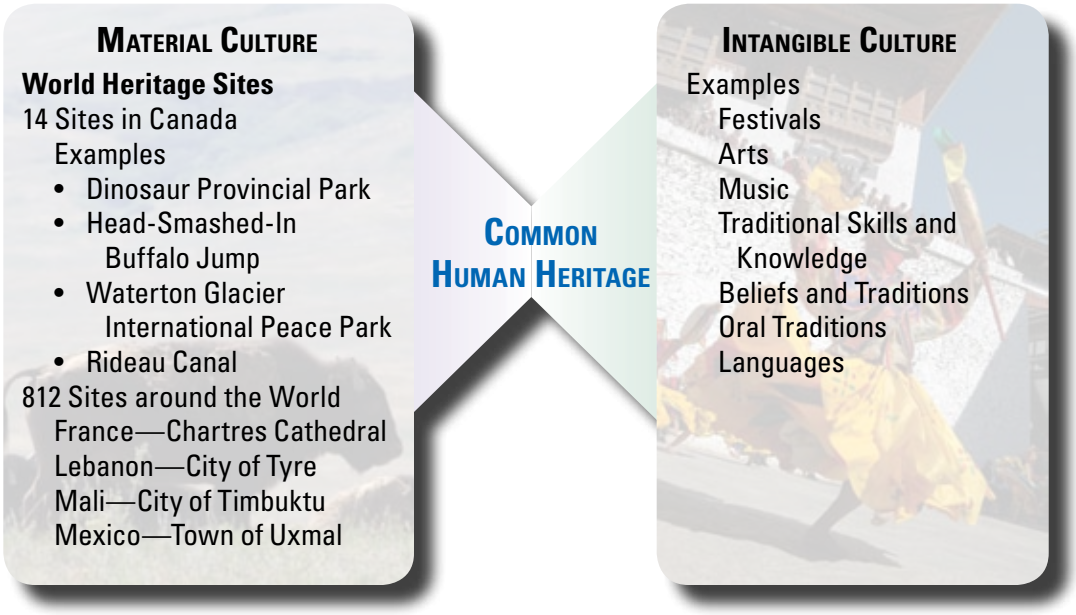
VOICES

The concept of a common human heritage is a powerful one. It reaffirms that human beings, despite their differences, belong to a single species. While cultures may vary, and languages differ enormously, our songs express a shared human sentiment. Such an idea invites us to visit the great temple complex of Khajuraho, or Granada in Spain or the Great Wall of China, and say this belongs to us, and it is our common heritage, there for us to preserve and respect.

— Shobita Punja, writer and teacher who has worked on projects to preserve India's cultural heritage, 2000

Figure 11-8 A pod of killer whales swims near North America's Pacific coast. Whales travel the world's oceans and are not restricted to a particular site, region, or country. Would the international community do more to protect these mammals, as well as other animals, if they were considered part of the natural heritage?

Figure 11-9 Common Human Heritage



Identifying the Common Human Heritage

One challenge facing UNESCO is to identify sites and intangible masterpieces that have outstanding value to humanity. A cultural site, for example, might show creative genius, or it could have exerted great architectural influence. It could also be associated with ideas and beliefs of universal significance. A natural site may exemplify a major stage in the earth's history, contain the natural habitat of a threatened species, or be a setting of exceptional beauty.

In Canada, 14 world heritage sites have been designated. Most are natural sites, such as parks and glaciers, but four are cultural: the historic district of Old Québec City, the Old Town of Lunenburg in Nova Scotia, the Rideau Canal, and L'Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland and Labrador. L'Anse aux Meadows contains the remains of a 1000-year-old Viking colony and is believed to be the first European settlement in North America.

Although Canadians may value the 14 sites that have received UNESCO's world heritage designation, are these places part of the culture and heritage of all humanity? Explain your response.

Web Connection

To find out more about UNESCO's world heritage sites, go to this web site and follow the links.

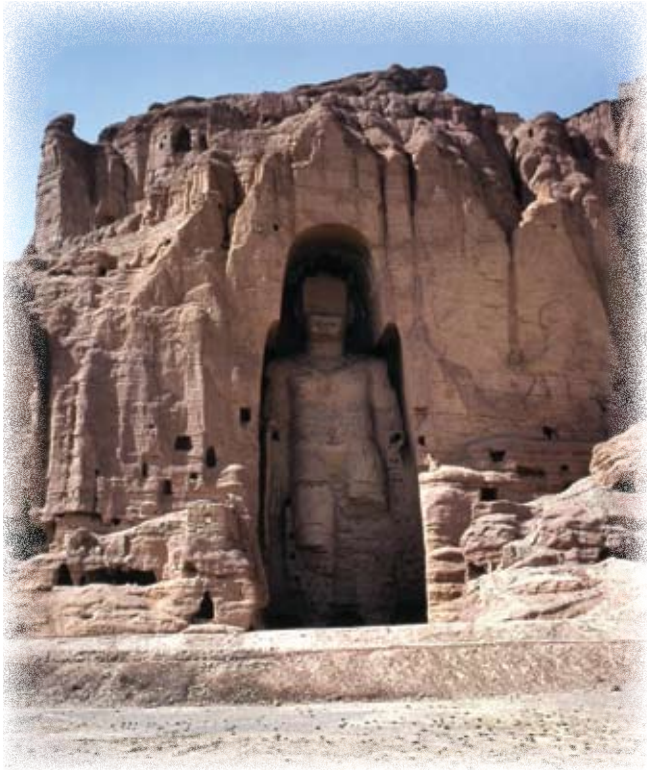
www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Figure 11-10 The Taliban, which controlled Afghanistan at the time, ordered this huge, ancient statue of Buddha destroyed. Today, the Afghan government and others are working to rebuild this statue and another that was also destroyed. Should works of art like this be considered the property of the state in which they are located, or are they part of everyone's heritage?

Threats to the Common Human Heritage

Sovereign states control what goes on within their own borders. They may dam rivers, allow the building of roads and housing developments, and decide whether — and how — to affirm and promote culture. UNESCO's designation of world heritage sites, as well as masterpieces of humanity's oral and intangible cultural heritage, provides safeguards that protect these elements of the common human heritage.

But UNESCO's safeguards can interfere with the plans of nation-states. In 2001, for example, Afghanistan's Taliban rulers destroyed two ancient statues of Buddha, the revered religious leader. Taliban leaders said they were destroying these "idols" in the name of Islam and ignored an international protest against the destruction. Balancing the need to preserve the common human heritage against the national interest of a particular nation-state is a challenge that UNESCO continues to struggle with.



Reflect and Respond

Although the United Nations is an international organization, it relies on the co-operation of member countries to achieve its goals. Though the UN can exert pressure on member countries, it has no military arm and cannot force states to go along with its policies.

With a small group, create an action plan that consists of a series of steps the UN could follow when trying to persuade a country's government to adhere to a UN policy.

Using Debate to Persuasively Express Informed Views

One of UNESCO's goals is to preserve the common human heritage. But this goal is sometimes controversial because it can pit national interests against international interests. Was Afghanistan's Taliban government, for example, within its rights to destroy the ancient Buddha statues? Or should UNESCO have had the power to step in and stop the destruction?

To consider the issue of whether national or international interests should prevail in situations like this, you will participate in an informal debate. The following steps will help you persuasively express your informed view.

Steps to Using Debate to Persuasively Express Informed Views

Step 1: Choose sides

In a group of six to eight, draw lots or use another method to divide the group into two subgroups. One subgroup will develop an informed position supporting a nationalist view; the other will develop an informed position supporting an internationalist position.

You will work with members of your subgroup to develop arguments supporting your position. Your goal is to inform and persuade the other side.

Step 2: Get ready for the debate

With your subgroup, brainstorm to create a list of arguments that support your position. Then decide on the most effective order for presenting these arguments.

- Assign each group member an area to research. The goal is to find information and ideas that support your arguments.
- Set a time for completing research.

Step 3: Prepare arguments and counter-arguments

Rejoin your subgroup and discuss the results of your research. Choose the information and ideas that support your position most effectively. Then work together to consider arguments that might be presented by the other subgroup and prepare effective counter-arguments.

When preparing both arguments and counter-arguments, refer to the tips on the following page. They will help you increase the effectiveness of your arguments and counter-arguments.

Step 4: Hold the debate

Your teacher will explain the format you will use to conduct your informal debate.

Step 5: Evaluate the arguments and presentations

As the members of your group make their presentations, use a checklist like the one shown on the following page to evaluate the effectiveness of their arguments. What criteria might you add to the checklist?

When the debate is over, share your evaluation with other group members. Discuss whether you were swayed by the strength of the arguments or the effective use of tools of persuasion — or both.

Figure 11-11 The historic Prince of Wales Hotel is a landmark in Waterton Lakes National Park. In 1931, this park was united with Glacier National Park in Montana to form the first international peace park. The purpose was to emphasize that international co-operation is required to protect natural areas. But what might happen if the government decided to sell the park because the money was needed to support a program that was in the national interest?

Summing Up

As you progress through this course and through life, you will often want to persuade others to share your point of view. When this happens, keep in mind the persuasion strategies you have learned — and be prepared to use them.

Dos and Don'ts of Effective Persuasion

Professionals have identified tools that boost the persuasive power of arguments. They have also identified pitfalls to watch out for. As you prepare your arguments, keep the following dos and don'ts in mind.

Dos

- ☑ Support your arguments with relevant, accurate facts. Present enough supporting facts to persuade, but be aware that too many facts can confuse and dissuade.
- ☑ Anticipate and acknowledge the counter-argument. This adds power to your arguments by showing that you have considered — and refuted — other points of view.
- ☑ Refer to authorities and respected sources (e.g., "A 2005 UNESCO report found that . . . "). Doing this can inspire confidence in your arguments.
- ☑ Use comparisons to support your position (e.g., "This is similar to . . ."). This provides the audience with a reference point that helps them understand your position.
- ☑ Appeal to values that are important to people. Values such as honesty, duty, and friendship can be very persuasive.
- ☑ Suggest alternatives (e.g., "It is also possible to . . .").
- ☑ Pose questions, then provide the answer (e.g., "Could the Buddhas have been saved by using military force? No, because who would send soldiers to die for a carved rock?").
- ☑ Include effective figures of speech, such as metaphors (e.g., "This proposal is a gold-medal winner . . .").
- ☑ Use the respectful speaking and listening skills you have developed over the years. These include making eye contact, paying attention to your posture, modulating your voice, monitoring your language carefully, and respecting the other person's point of view. No matter how right you believe you are, you can often gather important information from listening carefully to other opinions and ideas.
- ☑ Display sensitivity to your audience. Watch for clues in their body language.

Don'ts

- ☒ Use inappropriate humour. What one person finds funny, someone else may find offensive or insulting.
- ☒ Monopolize the floor. Know when to stop talking.
- ☒ Criticize the person making the arguments. Focus on countering the arguments. Targeting the speaker is disrespectful — and can undermine your position in the eyes of the audience.
- ☒ Repeat points excessively. A point may be extremely important, but take care not to repeat it so often that it loses its power.

Effective Persuasion Checklist

Persuasion Strategies	Very Effectively	Somewhat Effectively	Ineffectively
Supported position with facts			
Acknowledged counter-arguments			
Referred to authorities and respected sources			
Used comparisons to support position			
Appealed to important values			
Suggested alternatives to strengthen position			
Posed questions and provided answers			
Used figures of speech			
Spoke and listened respectfully			
Displayed sensitivity to audience			
Used appropriate humour			
Avoided monopolizing the floor			
Focused on arguments, not the person			
Avoided excessive repetition			

How do the responses of various international organizations affect nationalism?

A world which fails to establish the rule of law over the nation-states cannot long continue to exist. We are living in a perilous period of transition from the era of the fully sovereign nation-state to the era of world government.

— James Warburg, former financial adviser to U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt, in The West in Crisis, *1959*

Many of the forces that shape globalization — trade, safer and faster transportation, and improved communications — also shape the growth of internationalism. Each of these forces increases contact among countries at both governmental and non-governmental levels.

But some people believe that this increased contact is a double-edged sword. It encourages internationalism and co-operation among countries, but it may also erode the sovereignty of nation-states.

Read James Warburg's words in "Voices." What is he saying about the future of nation-states in an era of internationalism? Do you agree? Explain your position to a partner.

Economic Organizations

In a 1963 speech, United States president John F. Kennedy said, "As they say on my own Cape Cod, a rising tide lifts all the boats."

This idea has become the driving force behind the many international trade agreements that have been negotiated over the past few decades. Supporters of these agreements believe that as the economies of developed countries become stronger and more prosperous, a **trickle-down effect** is created.

Trickle-down theory suggests that when people in developed countries have more money to spend, they will buy goods and services offered by businesses in less developed countries — and this spending will help strengthen the economy of the developing world. Many international economic organizations, such as the World Trade Organization and the European Union, support this principle.

Why would a country ever agree to join the WTO when this organization's rules may decrease a government's ability to make its own decisions?

Figure 11-12 In 2007, Indonesian farmers gathered to protest WTO director general Pascal Lamy's visit to their country. The farmers believe that WTO rules will prevent their government from protecting domestic agriculture and that this will destroy their livelihoods. Is the WTO the most appropriate target for protests like this?

The World Trade Organization

In 1948, 23 countries, including Canada, signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which set out rules governing how member states would conduct trade. In 1995, the GATT became the World Trade Organization, which includes more than 150 countries.

Pascal Lamy, the WTO's director general, said that "reducing trade barriers has been, is and will remain essential to promote growth and development, to improve standards of living and to tackle poverty reduction."

But not everyone believes that the WTO helps the world. Some believe that this organization threatens national identity and the ability of countries to pursue their national interest. WTO rules can be enforced through economic sanctions, and this gives the organization enormous power that can be used to override the wishes of national governments.

Maude Barlow, for example, is a Canadian critic of the WTO. Barlow has reminded Canadians that the WTO classifies water as a commodity that can be traded. She insists that this means that the WTO can force Canada to export water to the United States, even if the Canadian government believes that this is not in Canada's national interest.

The European Union

After years of negotiating, the European Union became an official supranational body in 1991. In addition to promoting peace, security, and justice, the EU is dedicated to creating one of the largest free-trade zones in the world by integrating the economies of member countries. As a result, most obstacles standing in the way of the free movement of goods and people across the national borders of member countries have been removed. Supporters of the EU argue that the size of the European trade zone gives member countries the economic power necessary to play an important role in world trade.

One of the obstacles to freer trade within the EU was national currencies, such as the British pound, the French franc, and the Italian lira. To overcome this, most member countries have adopted the euro as a common currency.

Felipe González Márquez, a former prime minister of Spain, believes that adopting the euro will encourage the people of European countries to view themselves as a community. "The single currency is the greatest abandonment of sovereignty since the foundation of the European Community," he said. "We need this united Europe . . . We must never forget that the euro is an instrument for this project."

But not everyone agrees with González Márquez. Britain and Denmark, who are both EU members, have resisted adopting the euro. One of the factors contributing to this resistance is their citizens' belief that accepting the euro will lead to a loss of national identity and sovereignty.

Although EU members have successfully liberalized trade, the idea of adopting a constitution that applies to all EU members remains controversial. One of the sticking points in the constitutional debate involves the sovereignty of national governments. The proposed EU constitution said, for example, that once member countries have signed agreements with the EU, they cannot pass national laws that violate these agreements. In early 2008, EU politicians were considering reforming the proposed constitution to overcome some of the objections that have stood in the way of its adoption.

Examine the map of the EU in Figure 11-13. Both World War I and World War II began as conflicts between European countries and spread around the world. Do you believe that co-operating in the EU reduces the chances that another war will start in the same way? Explain your response.

Web Connection

To find out more about the countries that belong to the European Union, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

FYI

The EU by the Numbers

Member states: 27

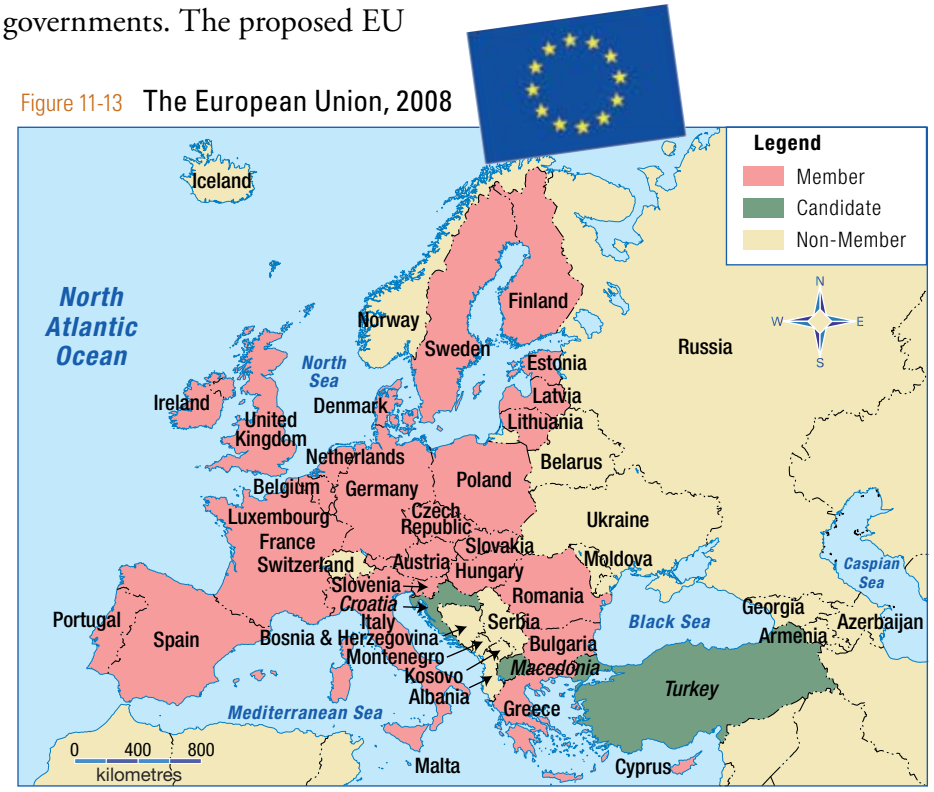
Estimated population (2008): 492 000 000

Official languages: 23

Europe Day: May 9 (the day the union was first proposed)

Cities where the European Parliament meets: 2 (Brussels, Belgium, and Strasbourg, France)

Figure 11-13 The European Union, 2008



Cultural and Language-Based Organizations

Many groups whose members share a common bond, such as language or cultural links, have formed international organizations that extend well beyond national borders. These groups, such as Indigenous peoples and Francophones, are acting internationally to find ways to combine their voices to affirm and promote their national identity in their individual countries. Some groups, such as the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, are non-governmental, while others, such as la Francophonie, are governmental. And the Arctic Council involves representatives of both governments and non-governmental organizations.

Web Connection

To read more about the Arctic Council, go this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Early Indigenous Peoples' Initiatives

In 1973, representatives of many Indigenous peoples who live in the world's circumpolar region met at the Arctic Peoples Conference in Copenhagen. This conference marked the beginning of international co-operation among Indigenous peoples — and helped inspire the formation of groups such as the World Council of Indigenous Peoples and the Inuit Circumpolar Conference.

Spearheaded by George Manuel, a Shuswap from British Columbia, the World Council of Indigenous Peoples was one of the first international groups to focus on Indigenous rights. Though the WCIP disbanded in 1996, it played an important role in developing the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

The Inuit Circumpolar Conference represents about 160 000 Inuit who live in the Arctic regions of Canada, Alaska, Greenland, and Russia. The council's General Assembly meets every four years. Its goals include promoting the interests and rights of the Inuit — and all Indigenous peoples — as well as strengthening the cultural bonds that unite them.

Figure 11-14 Inuit hunters Joshua Kango and Meeka Mike follow polar bear tracks across the snow-covered ice of Frobisher Bay near Tonglait, Nunavut. Older Inuit remember spending up to 10 months a year on the land, but global climate change has reduced this time so that six months is now the upper limit in many areas. How might the issue of global climate change highlight the importance of the Arctic Council?

The Arctic Council

In 1991, representatives of the world's eight Arctic countries — Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Finland, Norway, Sweden, the United States, and Russia — met in Finland to discuss strategies for protecting the fragile Arctic environment. This meeting also included representatives of the Indigenous peoples who live in the Arctic.

Five years later, the Arctic Council emerged from this initiative. Mary Simon, an Inuk from Nunavik, had been appointed Canada's first ambassador for circumpolar affairs in 1994. In this position, Simon led the movement to create the council.

The Arctic Council broke new ground by combining in its membership representatives of Arctic Indigenous groups and representatives of the governments of the eight Arctic countries. Some observers have predicted that this breakthrough — including non-state nations as official members — will lead to a new era of co-operation and inspire other governmental organizations to broaden their focus in a similar way.

Think about the United Nations and its attempts to promote world peace. If the UN, like the Arctic Council, allowed non-state nations to become members, would this be a step forward? Explain your response.

La Francophonie

La Francophonie — l'Organization internationale de la Francophonie — was originally an organization of countries in which French is an official language. Although la Francophonie's members include only governments, they are not always national governments. Canada, for example, is a member, but so are the provinces of Québec and New Brunswick.

Although la Francophone is committed to promoting the French language and cultural and linguistic diversity, in recent years, the organization has reached out beyond language to include governments that share a vision of international co-operation and support for human rights. In Macedonia, for example, French is not an official language, yet this country is a member of la Francophonie.

Though la Francophonie passes resolutions, they do not have the force of law and members are not required to abide by them. Still, these resolutions often influence governments to change their policies.

Web Connection

To find out more about la Francophonie, go this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Mary Simon
A Life Devoted to Activism

MAKING A DIFFERENCE MAKING A DIFFERENCE MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Mary Simon cut her political teeth in the 1970s, when she joined the Northern Québec Inuit Association to fight Hydro Québec's plans to build the huge James Bay power generating project. This battle eventually led to the landmark James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement. Since then, Simon has continued to promote the cause of the peoples of the Arctic.

The daughter of a Hudson's Bay Company manager and an Inuk, Simon was born in Kangiqsualujjuaq, on the eastern shore of Ungava Bay in the Nunavik region of northern Québec. She believes that a childhood spent immersed in traditional Inuit culture helped create her strong relationship to the land.

But Simon's father also ensured that his children had opportunities to learn English as a second language. "This fluency in English was one of the springboards to my 'career' in the political development of Nunavik," she has said.

Simon's activism led to involvement in the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, and she was elected president of this organization in 1986. She also played an important role in ensuring that Aboriginal people's rights were protected in the 1982 Canadian Constitution.

Figure 11-15 Mary Simon has published a book titled *Inuit: One Arctic — One Future*. For her work on Arctic issues, Simon has been awarded the Order of Canada, the National Order of Québec, the Gold Order of Greenland, and a National Aboriginal Achievement Award.

When Prime Minister Jean Chrétien appointed Simon Canada's first ambassador for circumpolar affairs in 1994, she spearheaded the initiative to create the Arctic Council and became its first chair. She is now president of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, an organization that represents the 53 000 Inuit of Canada's North.

Simon has seen great changes in people's attitudes toward the Arctic. "As recently as 25 years ago, the Arctic regions were hardly on the political environmental agenda," she said. "Now hardly a day goes by without a news story on the Arctic," she said.

Explorations

1. Would you describe Mary Simon as a nationalist or an internationalist — or both? Cite evidence to support your judgment.
2. Would membership in international organizations like the Inuit Circumpolar Conference and the Arctic Council be likely to strengthen or weaken the Inuit sense of national identity? Explain your response.

Security Organizations

Countries have always formed defensive military alliances to ensure their security. When the Cold War began, for example, the countries of Western Europe and North America feared the military threat posed by the powerful, communist-controlled Soviet Union. To protect themselves, they formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or NATO, in 1949. Canada was a founding member of this organization.

NATO members agreed that an attack on one member would be considered an attack on them all. When the Soviet Union started collapsing in the late 1980s, NATO's role began to evolve to include peacekeeping and peacemaking. By 2008, for example, armed forces from Canada and other NATO members were deeply involved in a peacekeeping and peacemaking mission in Afghanistan.

Other countries have formed similar military alliances. The Collective Security Treaty Organization, for example, includes Russia and other former Soviet republics.

Web Connection

To find out more about NATO, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Taking Turns

How much sovereignty should Canada be willing to give up for the sake of pursuing internationalism?

The students responding to this question are Rick, who was born in the United States but moved to Fort McMurray with his family when he was 10; Jean, a Francophone student who lives in Calgary; and Pearl, who lives in St. Albert and whose great-great-great grandfather immigrated from China to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Rick

Working with other countries is a good idea, but I think Canada needs to be careful about giving up too much sovereignty. The Kyoto Protocol is an example. My dad works in the oil patch, and he says it would be disastrous if Canada accepted Kyoto. He thinks Stephen Harper's made-in-Canada solution is the answer — and I agree. But I also think that the Kyoto process was important. It really focused everyone's attention on global climate change.

I think it's best to look at things case by case. Lots of Francophone Canadians are glad that Canada takes part in la Francophonie. It helps raise awareness of language and cultural issues, especially in countries like this, where Francophones are a minority. But this is no reason to allow la Francophonie to tell Canadians what we should do to affirm and promote cultural groups. We can make these decisions for ourselves.

Jean

Pearl

We should definitely listen to international opinion, because, like it or not, Canada is part of a world community. When making decisions, it always helps to have lots of opinions, and belonging to international organizations helps us find out about the perspectives of others. It's like brainstorming in class. The more ideas people throw into the pot, the more likely they are to come up with a solution that suits everyone. So pursuing internationalism is like a giant brainstorming session. And in a multicultural country like Canada, this kind of brainstorming is really important.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Rick, Jean, and Pearl are answering? Explain the reasons for your answer.

THE VIEW FROM HERE

Is pursuing internationalism the only appropriate course in today's globalized world? Or does internationalism mean giving up too much control? Here is how four thinkers have responded to these questions.

Eric Kierans was a Canadian economist, politician, and writer who held many posts in both the Québec and Canadian governments. In 1983, Kierans gave the annual Massey Lecture, which focused on the role of the nation-state in a globalizing world.

> Globalism, therefore is specialization – but specialization means an ever-growing dependency. Nations become famous for making the wings of a plane but not the fuselage, for mining the ore but not milling it, for cutting down the trees but importing the furniture. Gone is the balanced growth that would enable the state to offer the wide range of career opportunities to a youth educated at great expense . . . Since each nation's resources have been placed in an international pot and its manpower assigned some partial and specialized role, the nation's freedom to create the instruments necessary to the achievement of its own priorities has been sharply reduced.

Andrew Herod is a geographer and specialist in international affairs at the University of Georgia. He has written widely about internationalism, especially as it concerns labour. Herod wrote the following in a 2003 article titled "Geographies of Labor Internationalism."

> Globalization is transforming the spatial organization of the world economy. In particular, it is leading to the "shrinking globe" phenomenon and the speeding up of social interaction between places across the planet . . . Where globalization may encourage some workers to engage in traditional international solidarity campaigns it might also, paradoxically, lead others to focus on highly local campaigns, the consequences of which can quickly be spread far and wide as a result of the growing spatial interconnectivity of the planet that globalization has augured.

J. Michael Adams and **Angelo Carfagna** of Fairleigh Dickinson University in the United States frequently collaborate on projects that focus on global education and world citizenship. This excerpt is from *Coming of Age in a Globalized World*, a 2006 book that was one of their collaborative projects.

> We agree that the nation is a great source of emotional attachment, and that emotional ties across borders can sometimes be difficult to build. But [an argument that nationalism is the most universally legitimate political value] ignores the need for a broader international consciousness in today's age, as well as the many international causes that have inspired great passion – from efforts to abolish slavery, to movements that enhance women's and children's rights, to environmental campaigns . . .
>
> Even without a shared culture, we have a shared commitment to addressing common concerns and problems. This commitment is the foundation for our international community and for world citizenship, illustrated particularly in the work of the United Nations and the development of international law and treaties in the second half of the twentieth century.

Explorations

1. In your own words, restate the main idea presented in each of these quotations.
2. Which of the ideas expressed do you think is the most powerful? The most logical? Why?
3. Do any of these speakers see a positive future for nationalism and internationalism? Explain your response.

1. Imagine that a large historic site in your community has attracted the attention of the federal government, which has proposed asking UNESCO to designate it a world heritage site. The property was once the rural home of a community resident who went on to become a world-famous artist. The site includes heritage buildings, and archeological digs have found important evidence of early Aboriginal settlements. Designation as a world heritage site means the property would be preserved and maintained as it is. No changes could be made.

   But your community has grown, and the property is now in a very desirable suburban location. Housing and services are badly needed to keep up with rapid population growth. A developer has applied to tear down the heritage buildings and replace them with an apartment building, townhouses, a community centre that includes a library, and a palliative care facility for people who are terminally ill. The project would support the community's economy by creating short- and long-term employment opportunities and by helping to meet the community's housing and social needs. As a result, it is supported by many in the community.

   Others, however, support the call to make the property a world heritage site. They argue that this prestigious designation would also support economic growth by attracting tourists to the community. They say that a community that ignores its past loses its future and believe that celebrating community heroes, such as the artist, celebrates the great potential in everyone.

   Before deciding whether to go ahead with the request, the federal government has asked the community to respond.

   a) In a group of six to eight, follow the steps developed in "Focus on Skills" (pp. 262–263) to prepare for an informal debate on the federal government's proposal. Half the group will argue in favour of the world heritage designation, while the other half will argue against it.

   b) Hold the debate in the format selected by your teacher. Then evaluate the arguments and presentations made by each side.

   c) When your evaluation and discussion are complete, work as a full group to prepare a position paper in response to the proposal.

   d) Share your position with other groups. Did one side or the other predominate? Discuss the reasons this might — or might not — have occurred.

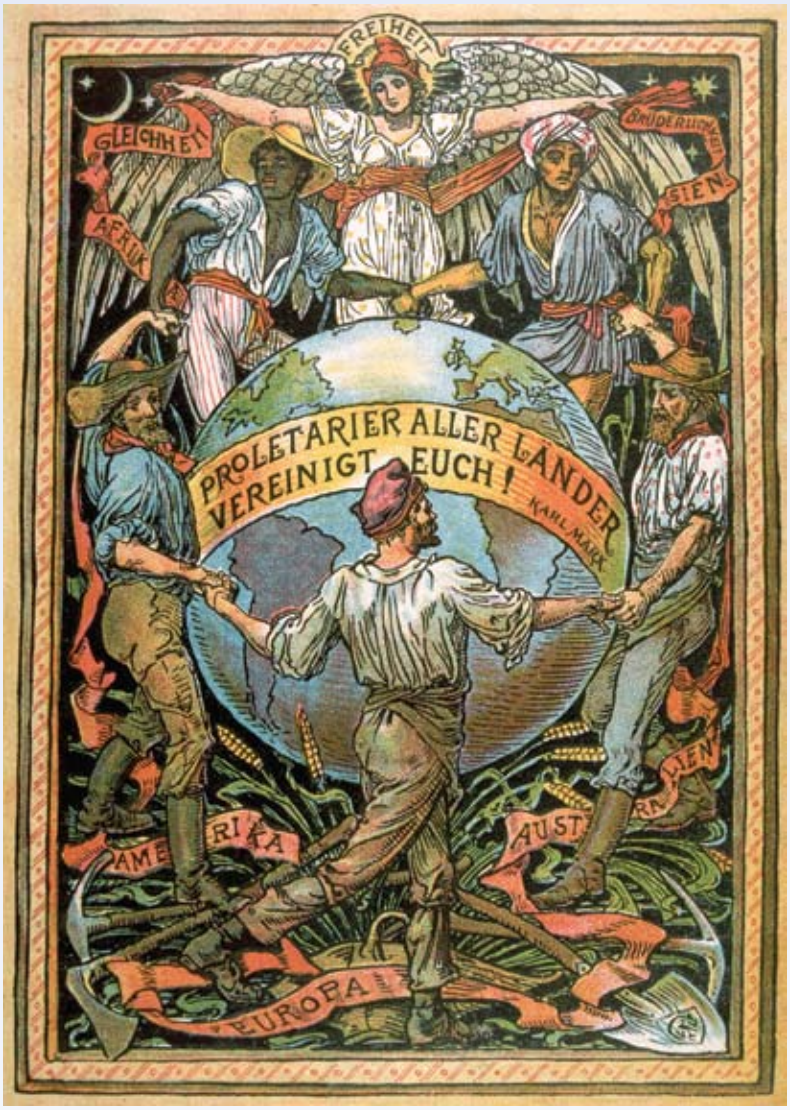
2. Create a poster, a political cartoon, or some other visual to express your thoughts on whether the pursuit of internationalism must automatically lead to conflict with national interests. Through this visual, you will be responding to the chapter-issue question: To what extent do efforts to promote internationalism through world organizations affect nationalism?

   Your visual can focus on any topic, such as voluntary balkanization, the effects of communication technology, or the responsibility to protect. Display your work on a bulletin board or in some other area of the classroom. Be prepared to explain and defend the position presented in your visual.

3. The motto of the European Union is "United in diversity." In an essay of no more than five paragraphs, discuss whether this might also be an appropriate motto for Canada.
   - In the opening paragraph, state your position: whether this motto is appropriate for Canada and how you will go about supporting your position.
   - In the middle paragraphs, support your position by providing convincing reasons that cite examples from your community, province, and the country as a whole.
   - In the final paragraph, sum up your arguments and state your conclusion.

4. The poster shown in Figure 11-16 is a reproduction of the cover of a late 19th-century German socialist pamphlet. The woman at the top represents Freedom (*Freiheit*). She is shown extending her welcome to all the peoples of the world. The words on the banner say, "Workers of the world unite." This motto is attributed to the famous socialist thinker Karl Marx.
   a) Each person depicted in the poster represents a continent. Explain why you think the creator of the artwork made these choices.
   b) What does this poster say about nationalism and internationalism?
   c) If you were to revise this poster to send the same message to contemporary audiences, what images would you select? How would you present them?

Figure 11-16



Think about Your Challenge

Your challenge for this related issue is to participate in a mock international summit on the world water crisis. Review the material in this chapter and the activities you completed as you progressed through the chapter. Continue to make notes about ideas that could be useful in completing the challenge. Your notes might include

- how the tools of effective persuasion could help you during the conference
- how changing world conditions have promoted the need for internationalism
- how the United Nations might play a role in reconciling contending national interests
- how responses from other international organizations could play a role in resolving this crisis